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Comment

Incorporating *Empire*

LABOUR WINS IN THE WEST INDIES

WEST AFRICA'S elections during the past year have deservedly hit the headlines in the British and in the world press, largely because of their scale and their revolutionary novelty. But other recent elections have also been worthy of note, particularly for Socialists. The West African elections, in the nature of the case, had to be fought on programmes rather than records, on nationalist rather than Labour issues. But in the West Indies, there have been three Labour victories won on working-class programmes by parties which have something already to show. In Barbados, Labour won in November 15 of the 17 seats contested, and in the following month the Antigua Labour Party won all eight elected seats on the Legislative Council, entitling them to all three elected seats on the Executive Council. In October, Mr. Gairy's Manual and Mental Workers' Union had already won six out of eight seats in Grenada. Mr. Gairy's Union has yet to prove itself as a permanent organisation, but its strike successes earlier in the year (which came after long months of neglect and delay had produced an inflammable situation) have had their political reward. The Barbados and Antigua Labour Parties have a longer record, are based firmly on trade union support, and have at least two outstanding leaders in Mr. Grantley Adams and Mr. Vincent Bird. Both fought on the achievements of their members of Executive and Legislative Councils, which have been considerable.

Barbados now has holidays with pay, improved workers' compensation, amended trade union legislation which substitutes contracting in for contracting out, adult suffrage, a major trade union advance in the recently negotiated sugar agreement, nationalised oil and natural gas, and local government reforms already initiated. The Labour programme

concentrated on further constitutional advance (particularly in regard to the second chamber¹), support for West Indian federation provided the federal constitution is democratic, Government control of public utilities until they can be nationalised, rent control, assistance to peasant farmers, and development of co-operatives, particularly in retail trade.

Working under a less advanced constitution than that of Barbados, the Antigua Labour Party has had less chance to determine policy, but Mr. Bird, as the one elected member of Executive Council, and his colleagues in the Legislative Council have also had their triumphs. Their election manifesto (significantly entitled *Progress Report*) is a clear and comprehensive account of achievements, and of what is still to be achieved, which would do credit to any British party with far greater financial and publicity resources at its disposal. There are no histrionics. Instead, there is a plain intention to make the best out of what is available. Antigua has abolished the income and literacy tests for voters and property and income qualifications for candidates, but even the new Constitution is only a moderate advance. 'Our desire was and is to have a wholly elected Legislative Council,' says the Manifesto, 'but having eight seats out of 14 is a definite improvement over the former five out of 11. We accept the concession as a step forward until we can get what we want, and should all the members of our Party be returned to Council as we expect, we will be as effective as if the whole Council were an elected one.' In this positive spirit the Party has already used its influence to some purpose. Labour pressure and initiative have contributed greatly to slum clearance and housing schemes, to the use of the sugar industry's Labour Welfare Fund for housing and education, to the

¹ See *Venture*, February, 1951.

improvement of health facilities, Government control of cotton marketing, loans to peasant producers, price controls on imported food, and economic help to the little island of Barbuda. Following a resolution introduced by the Labour members, the Antigua Electric Light Plant has been taken over by Government. There have been minor improvements in education and in the hospital, and the activities of Earl Baldwin's water diviner (which were 'vigorously supported' by the Labour members but ridiculed as 'mumbo jumbo' by some nominated members) have 'been crowned with success' and supplemented by the appointment of a geologist. These may seem small advances, but against the West Indian background of poverty and long years of neglect they have required hard and steady work to attain. Labour is working now for West Indian federation, further constitutional reform, democratic local government in every village, a contributory health service, the development of secondary industries, Government purchase of locally-grown foodstuffs at guaranteed prices, and a higher price for West Indian sugar on the British market.

In Antigua, as in Barbados, Labour deserves to succeed. We congratulate our comrades on their great electoral success.

RED LIGHT

THE fact that the Union of South Africa excludes Michael Scott is widely regarded by the British public as positive proof that there must be something radically wrong with a country that regards such a man as undesirable. To us, and to millions elsewhere in the world, he has become a symbol of courage and determination to fight racial discrimination. If South Africa argues that he has no respect for rules and regulations, public opinion will simply reply that the rules must, in that case, be imperfect. And so they are. The South African Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and others have so far been fought with such impotent weapons as are allowed to the opposition. Attempts are being made to fight them with passive resistance if they are not repealed by the end of February. Where world opinion and constitutional action make no impression, the hope is bound to arise that passive resistance will. Surely South Africa cannot relish such a prospect? Surely South Africa must note with dismay that even an invitation from its Prime Minister to assist the King in his recovery meets with hostile comment in the British press? How many more red lights does South Africa need?

CENTRAL AFRICAN SHOPPING

MR. JOHN MOFFAT, nominated Senior Member for African Interests in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council has, it is reported, achieved Government action on a subject which has so far died a natural death each time it has been raised. He has bluntly stated that inter-racial partnership is not compatible with separate entrances in post offices and with the habit of serving African customers through 'pigeon holes' at which they 'spend . . . many hours . . . while others are served in a short time.' It is reported that the Northern Rhodesian Government is to circularise all offices under its control which are used by the public, with the instruction that in future Africans and Europeans are to be admitted and served in the same way. We recall that as long ago as July 21, 1948, Mr. Tom Driberg asked in the House of Commons what action was being taken, following on complaints by the African Provincial Councils, about the custom of serving Africans through a window. He was informed that representatives of the African Representative Council and of the Associated Chambers of Commerce met in March, 1948, to discuss this problem and 'complaints of a similar nature,' and that, as a result, the Governor was 'hopeful of some improvement in the position.' Mr. Driberg also asked a question (not for the first time) about the Government's own post offices. The post offices were still an issue in 1950, when Mr. John Hynd returned to the charge on July 26. Some improvement was then reported, but Mr. Moffat apparently thinks that there is room for a great deal more.

Mr. Moffat's speech has brought out the usual irrelevant arguments in the press. The *Northern News* (28.12.1951) points out that 'a dustman in the garb of his calling and in honest but work-a-day dirt' would be 'quietly asked to leave' if he started 'popping into an Exclusive Bond Street gown-shop.' This reminds us of the extraordinary correspondence some months ago in the *East African Standard*, in which it was suggested that even in England one did not normally invite one's window-cleaner to tea. It was added that the window-cleaner would be highly embarrassed if one did. As to whether Africans are embarrassed or even humiliated by the 'pigeon-hole system,' the *Northern News* is silent. A few trips to West Africa, where Africans and Europeans can be seen in the same shops and post offices (indeed, in the same queues), might provide a practical lesson in partnership which Mr. Moffat could recommend to some of his fellow-countrymen.

SHEEP AND GOATS IN KENYA

At a time when inter-racial partnership is being discussed throughout East and Central Africa, the Government of Kenya has brought forward a Bill which introduces yet another line of division within the population. An amendment to the Legislative Council Ordinance provides for the division of the Indian electorate into two, one for Hindus and others, one for Muslims. It was passed through the Legislative Council by means of official, European, Arab and Asian Muslim votes, the Indians and the African representatives voting against. There is still time for it to be withdrawn.

How has this unhappy situation arisen? It stems, of course, from the partition of India itself. When the two new independent Dominions of India and Pakistan were created, conflicting loyalties developed within the Asian community in Kenya. There were at that time five Asian members of the Legislative Council, elected in three constituencies. The distribution of population was and is such that if all non-Muslim voters cast their votes for non-Muslims on religious grounds, there is practically no chance of a Muslim being elected. The solution to this problem proposed in the new amending legislation is to provide for the election on separate electoral registers of two Indian Muslim members and four Indian members 'not being Muslims.' No non-Muslim will be in a position to vote for a Muslim, whether he wishes to do so or not. No Muslim will be able to vote for a non-Muslim. The electoral separation of the sheep from the goats will be absolute.

There are a number of objections to such separation. The most important is that it ensures that no candidate is ever in a position in which he must explain his policy to and understand the views of electors belonging to a different community. As matters stand in Kenya, Europeans must get European votes to be elected, Arabs must gain Arab votes, Muslims Muslim votes, and so on. Anyone with the slightest experience of elections knows that in a campaign no candidate will waste time over electors who cannot in any event vote for him. Nor is he likely to do so in between elections. If co-operation is sought, it will be between groups of members already established in Legislative Council, not at ground level, so to speak, amongst the electors. Political parties will grow up (as they have in effect grown

up in Kenya) divided as the electorate is divided, and each party will be locked into its own communal or racial programme. How can inter-racial unity be developed under such a system?

The second objection is that in a mixed population there is no logical end to this kind of division. The Government of Kenya has already been told this by an inter-racial Committee of Legislative Council members presided over by the Speaker and set up in 1948. The Speaker's Committee (whose Report has only now been published) reported that special provision for Muslims might lead to a demand for special provision for Sikhs and possibly Goans. Kenya has only to look across to India to see that this is true. India started with one separate electorate for Muslims in 1909. By 1935, divisions were so numerous that the schedules to the Government of India Act named practically every conceivable group in the country and provided a separate register for it. Kenya already has racial electorates. The introduction of a religious electorate offers an endless succession of fascinating possibilities, particularly if and when Africans are allowed to vote. The growth of political parties based on genuine political programmes can thus be indefinitely delayed.

It is argued in support of separate electorates that minorities must have their rights safeguarded. But is a separate electorate an effective safeguard? Two Muslims will be elected under the present system, but they can be outvoted in Legislative Council. When the Executive Council is reorganised, they may not secure a place, and if they do, they cannot secure more than a minority of places. In India, Muslims had separate electorates. In Provinces in which they were in a minority, they had extra weightage in the legislatures. In the last days before transfer of power, they had equal representation in the Interim Government. Yet they demanded, and achieved, partition. The truth is that nothing on earth can convert a minority into a majority.¹

That is not to say that minorities ought to go unrepresented. But is a separate electorate the best means of securing representation? The Speaker's Committee rejected a system of reservation of seats, and finally recommended propor-

¹ The working of separate electorates is analysed in a Fabian Colonial Bureau pamphlet, *Self-Government and the Communal Problem*, by Marjorie Nicholson, 2s.

tional representation. Whatever may be the objections to proportional representation in Britain (and they are many), the scheme proposed by the Speaker's Committee would at least have made the election of Muslims possible even if the whole Indian electorate voted on religious lines, and it would do so without confining the political voter within a watertight religious compartment. Moreover, it had the advantage of being acceptable to the non-Muslim majority within the Indian community. As things stand, the Indian community may be compelled to accept a static system of representation imposed on it, in effect, by its own minority. This is surely carrying the just claims of a minority too far?

The proposal has already been condemned by

the East African Indian National Congress and the Kenya African Union, not only because of its inherent defects, but because the constitution of Kenya is in any case to come under discussion this year, and this discussion will be prejudiced in advance by the new proposals. The Indians have gone so far as to threaten boycott of the elections altogether if they are to be held under separate electorates. It is tragic that the Indian community has not itself been able to settle its own differences, but that is no ground for introducing a system which puts a premium on such differences. Kenya has the opportunity to turn the attention of its peoples towards constructive co-operation. Constitutional machinery cannot ensure that they will do so, but at least it can be a help. The present measure will be a hindrance.

TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

by Charles Mzingeli

The position of African trade unions in Southern Rhodesia, where the law does not provide for their registration, has long been the cause of discontent in that territory. Details of the contents and working of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1945 were given in Appendix 9 of the *Comparative Survey of Native Policy** in the three Central African territories which accompanied the Officials' Report on Closer Association in Central Africa. In the following article, which is based on a speech made to Members of Parliament in the House of Commons on December 7, 1951, the Secretary of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in Southern Rhodesia describes the position as seen by African trade unionists.

THE principal obstacle facing African trade unionists in Southern Rhodesia is not that trade unions are illegal, but that they are given no protection by the law. This protection is allowed to European trade unionists, but Africans are excluded from it by the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. In this Act, the term 'employee' does not include 'natives,' and the term 'native' means 'any member of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa or any person having the blood of such tribes or races and living among them and after the manner thereof.' Thus Coloured workers if they live 'after the manner' of natives, are excluded, in addition to Africans. African workers may, therefore, attempt to gain recognition as negotiating bodies from their employers, but the organisations which could enable them to gain this are not recognised or protected by law. Nor can African workers benefit from the conciliation and arbitration machinery established under the Act. Agreements made by Industrial Councils are made by the representatives of employers and European trade unions, and any conditions of service laid

down in these Agreements can be enforced only in respect of European workers.

African workers' organisations need the protection of the law. Not only that, they need special protection, for their members are poor and have to face the competition of strong European unions. These unions, as the official *Comparative Survey* itself states, mostly 'confine their membership to those who have served an apprenticeship period in the particular trade. It is almost impossible for an African to find a European willing to apprentice him.' How, then, can the African become a skilled worker? How can he join a European trade union?

Despite these difficulties, the Reformed I.C.U. is fighting in the interests of democracy and justice, and has informed the Secretary for Native Affairs that it will take up workers' cases wherever possible. In a number of cases the Commissioner of Native Labour has helped, and the Government has appreciated that the Union does not merely consist of 'agitators,' but is trying to establish rights in employment. On the other hand, some employers take a different view. In one case, the Union wrote letters to four firms. Only one took the trouble to examine the position, and one forwarded the letter to the C.I.D.!

* Cmd. 8235. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia often claims that its own departments and regulations made by them assist the African worker. This is true in many cases, as my previous reference to the Secretary for Native Affairs shows. But it is not enough. Even the Commissioner for Native Labour cannot go beyond a certain point—for example, he cannot deal with the question of apprenticeship. Nor can Government regulations ever be satisfactory in the absence of a trade union movement to speak for the workers. Regulations are framed, but we are not consulted when they are made. Generally they are published with 14 days' grace for criticisms to be sent in. Criticisms should be made in an organised way by experienced workers' representatives. Sometimes my union has sent in criticisms, but the regulations have not been changed. In Britain, the trade unions would be consulted while the regulations were actually being made, and this would be much more effective. Similarly, the Commissioner of Native Labour has inspectors whom he sends out to enquire when complaints are made of such evils as excessive overtime. But who makes these complaints? Any one who has learnt anything about the early attempts of British Governments to enforce its own Factory Acts knows that the worker who complains must have a strong trade union to back his complaint, or he will risk being sacked. Without unions, many workers are afraid to speak, and the Government cannot ever be certain that all its regulations are being obeyed.

Harmful Legislation

Some laws for which the Government is responsible do not help the workers, but are harmful. Through the Natives Registration Act and the Urban Areas Act, the Government can keep Africans out of the towns altogether if they have no job. An African may lose his job and his lodging too, because he must get his pass renewed. According to law he has 21 days to get another job before his pass is cancelled, but usually the pass officer will renew his pass for 7-day and 3-day periods, making ten days in all, and then, if he gets no work and thus loses his pass, the Registrar of Native Accommodation cancels his lodging in the town. Even in new 'Native' townships these accommodation regulations apply, and the worker knows that if he loses his job he is in danger of losing his lodging and his right to seek work in the town. When the Native Urban Areas Act was introduced we protested against it, but the Government said that it would enable the towns to improve African housing. Africans are still short of accom-

modation, and the Act has in practice helped the employers to get cheap labour.

It is very necessary that we should organise to fight for better conditions, because the present conditions are very bad. In most cases our wives cannot live with us in the towns, we have low wages and long working hours without proper payment for spreadovers, often rations are unsatisfactory, and poor conditions encourage stealing and illicit alcohol-brewing to get a little money. If we had a strong trade union movement these bad conditions could be improved, and we think that the Government of Southern Rhodesia ought not to put obstacles in our way when we try to build it. We are willing to help ourselves, and we could do so if we had legal protection for our unions. Northern Rhodesia and other territories under the Colonial Office have this protection. Why cannot the Government of Southern Rhodesia follow suit if it really believes in partnership between the races, as Sir Godfrey Huggins says?

EDITOR'S NOTE

Since this article was written, a statement on this question has been made by the delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which visited Southern Rhodesia. 'The development of responsible trade unionism among the Africans,' said the statement, 'is . . . retarded by confusion which exists in their conception of what is the law of the country regarding the rights of freedom of association. In the opinion of the delegation this confusion is detrimental to the establishment of sound, constitutional trade unions. We have found among African workers the desire to function along industrial rather than political lines, and we welcome this sentiment. . . The delegation strongly feels that the basis on which trade unions should function should be clearly defined in order to ensure a sound industrial development. What is more, the delegation has found that access to the conciliation and arbitration machinery is more difficult for the African than for the European. We feel that it is in the interests of the whole community to provide the African with at least equal facility for the settlement of disputes and grievances. We would strongly urge that such machinery for the African be granted as a right and obligation by bringing the African under the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act.' (*Bantu Mirror*, December 1, 1951.)

Have you read

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA ?

A statement on the background and contents of the Report of the recent Conference on Closer Association in the Central African territories.

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CITIZENSHIP IN MALAYA

The principal difficulty underlying communal divisions in Malaya is that of citizenship. Attempts to modify the existing law to admit wider sections of the population have been repeatedly made, so far without success. New legislation is now in draft form, and is described below:—

1. State and Federal Enactments.

Under the Federation Agreement of 1948, each of the nine States has a State Council to advise the Sultan. Legislation has been prepared for each State which will enable a number of inhabitants of the State who at present do not qualify as 'subjects of the Sultan' to attain that status. The State draft Enactments are identical, and to come into operation must be passed by the State Councils. Federal Citizenship (i.e. operative in all the nine States and the two Settlements of Malaya) will be widened if the Legislative Council passes a draft Ordinance amending the Federation Agreement of 1948.

2. The State Enactments.

In the Federation Agreement of 1948, the term 'subject of H.H. the Ruler' of any State was defined as:—

- (a) any member of an aboriginal tribe resident in the State; or
- (b) any Malay born in the State or born elsewhere of a father who was at the time of the birth of such person a subject of the Ruler; or
- (c) any person naturalised as a subject of that Ruler.

The definition of the word 'Malay,' which under the new draft Enactment remains the same, was 'a person who:—

- (a) habitually speaks Malay; and
- (b) professes the Muslim religion; and
- (c) conforms to Malay custom.'

Under the new Enactment the definition of the term 'subject of H.H. the Ruler' is widened to include:—

- (a) any Malay born in the State;
- (b) any person born in the State, one of whose parents was born in the Federation;
- (c) Federal citizens who acquired federal citizenship under the 1948 agreement by application to the State.

A person may become a naturalised subject of the Ruler if he:—

- (a) has resided in the Federation for ten out of the preceding twelve years, including the last two;
- (b) is of good character and not likely to become chargeable;

- (c) can speak Malay or English 'with reasonable proficiency';
 - (d) makes a declaration of permanent settlement; and
 - (e) takes the prescribed oath of allegiance.
- This involves renunciation of all loyalty to any sovereign other than the Ruler or His Majesty, and of the exercise of all other nationality or citizenship rights.

3. The Draft Federation of Malaya Agreement (Amendment) Ordinance 1951 (Citizenship).

The 1948 Federation Agreement provided for the automatic recognition as Federal Citizens of persons who, broadly speaking, already owed allegiance to one of the Rulers or to His Majesty. These 'automatic' Federal citizens included subjects of the Sultans, British subjects born in the Settlements of Penang and Malacca who were permanently resident (i.e. had completed a continuous period of 15 years' residence) anywhere in the Federation, any person born in the Federation whose parents were both born there and had resided there for 15 years, any person born in the Federation who habitually spoke Malay and conformed to Malay custom, and the children of Federal citizens. It will be seen that this group of citizens was therefore predominantly composed of Malays and of Straits-born non-Malays from the Settlements.

Under the draft Amending Ordinance, the classes of 'automatic citizens' are widened by the widened definition of the term 'subjects of the Sultans,' and by the addition of some other classes of British subjects (now known as 'citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies').

Under the draft Amending Ordinance, there are also provisions for citizenship by *registration*. This is open to some classes of British subjects otherwise not eligible, if they take an oath abjuring all loyalties except those of a citizen of the Federation or a citizen of the United Kingdom and the Colonies or a subject of a Sultan.

Citizenship may also be acquired by *naturalisation*. This covers some British subjects who have made a declaration of permanent settlement and can speak Malay or English 'with reasonable proficiency.'

4. The Underlying Principles.

The draft Ordinance is based on the principles that the right of citizenship by birth should apply

to Malays born in the Malay States, and that this delayed right should be applied to non-Malays of the first generation of local birth. The effect is summed up in these words:—

'A teacher would be able to tell his multi-racial class: Those of you born in the Federation with one parent also born here are all citizens of Malaya and the flag flying outside the school is your flag to which you must be loyal. Those born in a Malay State are subjects of H.H. the Ruler of that State. Those born in Penang and Malacca are subjects of H.M. The King. As well as being loyal to the Federation you must be loyal to your sovereign. Some of you, though born in the Federation, have fathers and mothers both born elsewhere . . . if you learn all that this school will teach you . . . and behave well, you will be able to obtain the privilege of citizenship as soon as you are 18 years old.

According to the census of 1947, the total population of the Federation of Malaya was 4,908,086, composed of:—

Malays and Malaysians	2,427,834
Chinese	1,884,534
Indians	530,638
Europeans	9,607
Eurasians	10,061
Others	45,412

According to the *Weekly News Summary* issued by the Department of Information in the Federation (16.11.1951), from July, 1949, to August 31, 1951, federal citizenship certificates were issued under the Federation Agreement of 1948 to 277,583 persons. The *Summary* does not give the racial composition of this figure, but some guide may be found in the figures for the month of August, 1951. In that month, 19,960 persons became citizens. Of these, 16,334 were Chinese, 245 Malaysians, 3,324 Indians, Pakistanis and Ceylonese, and 57 others.

It is expected that the new legislation, if passed, will bring in another 250,000 non-Malays born in the Federation and with one parent born in Malaya.

SIERRA LEONE'S NEW GOVERNMENT

In our January number (page 2) we referred to the appointment to the Executive Council of Sierra Leone of six members of one party, the Sierra Leone Peoples' Party. The new Executive Council has four official and six unofficial elected Members. In his speech at the opening session of the Legislative Council (Nov. 28, 1951), the Governor said:—

ON questions of policy for the future I must on this occasion be silent, for the responsibility for framing policy now rests with Executive Council.

As you know, unofficial members of Executive Council must be chosen from amongst the elected members of this Council, and since members cannot take their seats in this Council until they have taken the oath of allegiance it is not possible to form Executive Council until the Legislative Council has been sworn-in.

In order to ensure the stability of government, and to

make it possible for the day-to-day work of government to continue smoothly and efficiently it will be necessary for Executive Council constantly to take decisions in anticipation of the approval of this Council, which of course does not normally meet more than twice a year.

It follows therefore that the unofficial members of Executive Council must be men who enjoy the confidence of a majority of the elected members and are in fact men to whom the Legislative Council is prepared to delegate authority.

Where there is a well-developed "party system" it is the practice for His Majesty the King or his representative to send for the leader of the party which commands a majority and invite him to form a government. Here in Sierra Leone to-day I am not sure that the party system is yet quite sufficiently developed for me to introduce a procedure modelled, *mutatis mutandis*, on that which I have described.

I propose therefore on this occasion to consult unofficial members, at a private and informal meeting on the choice of those who are to be invited to join the government.

I want to make two points quite clear. First, that this should not be regarded as establishing a precedent. Secondly, that in following this procedure this year, I am guided solely by the over-riding necessity to ensure that the Executive Council has the support of a working majority of this Council. . .

At a time like this, wise leadership is of the greatest importance. Honourable Elected Members of Council, you are the men whom the people have chosen to lead them on. The people have put their trust in you. In accepting election to this Council with its unofficial majority, you have accepted the responsibilities of leadership and you have accepted the trust which has been reposed in you by the people.

I and my official colleagues shall continue to bear our proper share of responsibility, and it will be our constant aim to do everything in our power to promote the welfare of the people of this land.

HIGHER TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

PROVISION for Higher Technical and Vocational Education in the Colonies is now being made, in some cases in Colleges already established, while in others new Colleges are now being established.

West Africa. Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, which was founded in 1827 by the Church Missionary Society, is continuing its degree courses in co-operation with the University of Durham. It also maintains a teacher training department and courses in education, technical and commercial subjects. At present it has 248 students and a staff of 30, including 7 Africans and 1 Afro-American. A grant of £450,000 was made in 1950 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

The Gold Coast and Nigeria are to have Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, whose staff are at present being recruited. Two hundred teachers are already in training at Kumasi. The Colonial Development and Welfare allocation are £500,000 for Nigeria and £350,000 for the Gold Coast.

East Africa. The Royal Technical College in Nairobi is at present being built. It is planned to teach the main technical and commercial subjects to students of all races who have passed School Certificate or its equivalent. A C.D. and W. grant of £150,000 has been made, together with £120,000 from the Kenya Government. Further grants are expected from Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The West Indies. The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture was founded in Trinidad in 1921. It has 57 students, including 20 from the United Kingdom and 28 from the West Indies. 7 of the staff are West Indians. 26 of the staff are engaged on research under C.D. and W. schemes. Future financial arrangements are under consideration.

Asia. Hong Kong Technical College was established in 1936. It has mechanical engineering, building and radio communications departments, and the junior technical school. There are 370 full-time students and 1,400 attending evening classes. Of the full-time staff of 25, 8 are ex patriates. Of the part-time staff of 67, 17 are ex patriates. In Malaya, the Technical College was founded in 1941 and received £565,834 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund in 1949. A local benefactor has given £15,000 towards a sports field and

pavilion. The College teaches civil, electrical and mechanical engineering, surveying and telecommunications. The racial composition of students and staff is particularly interesting. The staff consists of 1 European, 4 Chinese and 9 Indians. Of the students, there are 31 Malays, 106 Chinese, 56 Indians, 9 Europeans and 1 other.

Pacific. The Central Medical School, Fiji, is the only institute of higher learning in the British Pacific Islands, and serves also the islands under the administration or trusteeship of Australia, New Zealand and the United States. It provides a four-year course to qualify students as Assistant Medical Practitioners. It has grown from a Medical School originally opened in 1886. The C.D. and W. allocation is £171,850. The staff of 17 includes 3 Fijians and 2 Indians. At present there are 161 students from the following territories: Fiji, 46; Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 7; New Hebrides, 5; British Solomon Islands, 4; Tonga, 5; Western Samoa, 18; Cook Islands, 8; Niue Islands, 2; Papua-New Guinea, 6; Nauru, 2; Eastern Samoa, 4; U.S. Trust Territories, 54.

It will be observed that there are wide gaps, both in subjects and in provision for different areas. The most striking is the absence of any institution in Central Africa, where the economy of Northern Rhodesia is so largely dependent on the Copperbelt.

WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP?*

IT is unfortunate that at this time any consideration of the nature of a multi-racial partnership is confused by being connected in our minds with the more specific and more complex discussion on Central African Federation, for the problems of creating an environment in which a partnership may flourish have exercised a great many minds for a number of years.

It is a confusion of thought to imagine that the mutual faith and interdependence which constitute a true partnership can be imposed by political means alone. In the January issue of *Venture*, under this heading, appeared a letter signed *Rhodesian*, which is an example of the hypnotic effect of politics, in which the vital issues of the survival of a country as a working unit, and the real advance, as opposed to mere political advance, of the mass of the people become obscured in a haze of constitutional demands.

It has been said that universal suffrage together with a sliding scale of taxation is an unworkable proposition over any length of time. While in England this truth is becoming clear only slowly, because the majority have some responsibility to the country as a whole, in Africa where the differences between the few and the majority are so much greater, and civic responsibility has yet to be inculcated into the people, it would be disastrous.

There is a tendency nowadays to consider questions of government without sufficient regard for the realities of economics. Any question examined objectively has certain facts which must be accepted as a basis for further thought, and in this field the most common fact of this nature is that concerning value for work done.

* See *Venture*, December, 1951, and January, 1952, for previous contributions to this discussion.

Wages

For a community to be stable and flourish it must have an economic structure built up in such a way that each unit is aware, not only of his contribution to the whole, but also of his position in it. Clearly then, the first step towards allowing a partnership to grow freely is to regularise the racial difference in wages. In particular the government scale known as the three-fifths should be abolished immediately. This is the scale laid down for non-Europeans (and women) holding similar qualifications and posts as Europeans paid at the full scale.

Education

The corollary to this is that all men must have equal opportunity to improve their position in the economic structure. In the January issue of *Venture* Mr. Brodetsky says that equal educational opportunities for all races is an ideal which deserves mention. This is a principal which no one doubts. One is faced with the need for a clear policy on education in plural societies and one that will outlast the present urgent need for any sort of education for the majority of the population.

If infant and junior schools were run on inter-racial lines, with a broader curriculum than the present examination system allows for children, an immense amount of good would be done for the future. The teaching, by people of any race, would be mostly in the open air and by stories and active pursuits. At present, European children born in the Colonies are pitifully ignorant of the tribal histories and traditions of the country they live in. They are equally ignorant of the natural history, the animals, the herbs, the trees and fruit to be found. All these, African children brought up in the reserves

and taught by word of mouth, seem to know instinctively and with assurance. In exchange, English children have a wealth of folklore, fairy stories and general background, ignorance of which is a barrier to full understanding of such further education as the more fortunate Africans at present receive. In those countries with an Asian community, the argument still applies.

The educational structure beyond this stage should divide into schools which besides the three Rs, would teach trades as carpentry, bricklaying, midwifery and so on, and to these the African children should be encouraged to go. The predominantly Indian schools should teach more commerce and trades. There should be a choice of schools, some specialising in the conventional type of education and some fitting the children for a more useful life.

It is folly to imagine that the present examination system, the Junior Certificate, Matriculation and the Higher Certificate can form the basis for curricula suitable to all races in a growing country. At the present

time official and public opinion consider persons educated only if they can boast a certificate, with the implications that they have a knowledge and perhaps an understanding, of English history, literature, algebra, trigonometry and possibly a European language. It is essential that these young countries should realise that a first-class cattleman or a reliable bricklayer or a good carpenter is just as worthy, and in many respects more valuable, than the graduate of the finest university. The majority of the Africans with whom one comes in contact are aspiring lawyers, trade union officials, engineers and accountants, and the towns and cities of Africa are thronged with hopeful African typists, clerks, book-keepers and telephonists, all of whom consider themselves not only educated, but far superior to the farmers and manual workers they have left behind. This is both the tragedy and the challenge of education in the colonies: how to make the mass of the people aware that a country must be built before dreams of political independence and wealth can become a reality for the people.

Richard Hughes.

An American Migrant Labour Problem

INTEREST in American racial problems abroad is usually confined to those of the Negroes, with an occasional romantic regret for the Indian reserves. Other immigrants are assumed to be absorbed by the never-ending process of Americanisation.

One sizeable minority, unassimilated and uncatered for, which attracts little publicity, is that of the Mexicans in the south-west. These (known as 'wetbacks' since many of them enter the United States by swimming the Rio Grande) are, for the most part, illegal immigrants who slip across the thinly patrolled border which stretches 1,600 miles from Texas to California. They enter at a rate of some one million a year, and only a few are caught. Some have been deported as often as twenty times and returned again; it is, of course, an ideal form of entry for spies.

This traffic of Mexicans leaving home unemployment and a wage rate of 40 cents a day is supported by local farmers and ranchers, but it is beginning to attract unfavourable attention in the States both for non-economic as well as economic reasons. Such a vast influx to an already Spanish-speaking area is retarding assimilation and producing a 'culturally indigestible' peninsula, a rare phenomenon in America. Political development is affected, for whereas in Texas and California the Spanish-speaking sections of the population have little part in local affairs, in New Mexico, which has an equally Spanish-speaking population but no influx of wetbacks, they take an adequate share in local government. Concomitant backwardness in health and education does not only hurt the infected area but affects the body as a whole.

Wetbacks seriously depress wages, and force local inhabitants to migrate to other parts of the States in search of better conditions, which in turn disrupts local conditions elsewhere. This is not only limited to unskilled farm labour, but affects to an increasing degree truck drivers, miners, factory workers and carpenters, whose trade unions are sometimes weakened to the point of non-existence.

Employers who openly recruit wetback labour have

the idea that it is necessary so deeply implanted that they resent interference. In the south-west is reproduced the state of free enterprise in regard to labour once seen in our own industrial revolution. Wages offered are exactly what the market will bear, and are sometimes depressed to as little as 25 cents per hour. This is aggravated by the fact that the illegal status of the wetback deprives him of any social or legal aid to improve bad conditions or wages robbery. The same old arguments are trotted out by the producers in these fertile cotton, citrus and vegetable lands, that any increase in labour costs would put them out of business. Though, in contiguous areas, more expensive and better labour competes with adequate profits.

Publicity is now being given to the fact that American laws are openly flouted, and vested interests put pressure on the border patrolmen. One solution to the problem is sought through the promotion of legal immigration via the United States-Mexico Farm Labor Agreement of 1949. But farmers in the area complain that their type of crop makes it impossible for them to give the 60 days' notice required to import labour; that the costs of housing, insurance, and a minimum wage of 40-60 cents would be higher than employing local labour, and that a minimum wage is unworkable for agriculture any way. (The only minimum wage in American agriculture is that for the sugar-beet industry under Federal Law.) The Agreement is further rendered a travesty by the fact that preference in employment is given to wetbacks already in the States which merely gives a fillip to illegal immigration.

Other solutions to the problem suggest an increase in the border patrol, or in the penalties both for wetbacks and those who employ them. While neither side cares for the suggestion that the Government should control the labour involved, employers suggest a legalisation of wetbacks with a minimum of protection, while the A.F.L. on the other hand, suggests that the enforcement of adequate wages would produce all the local labour necessary and abolish the need for wetback labour altogether.

Molly Mortimer.

CO-OPERATION FOR EDUCATION*

Some co-operative schemes are initiated and run with the assistance of Government departments. The following description of a less highly-organised, but useful, voluntary effort is reprinted from *The Nigerian School-Master* organ of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, May, 1951. It was written by R. I. Uzoma, B.A., and describes the system of communal payment of school fees which has grown since 1940 in the Aba Division of Eastern Nigeria, and which has contributed to an impressive increase in the enrolment of children and the number of schools amongst the Ngwa people.

THE practice of the whole village rather than individual parents, paying the school fees of all its children, is not a new thing in Ngwaland. . . But the Ngwa system which obtains in about six-sevenths of all Anglican Schools in the Division has special peculiarities of its own which make it interesting. It is rooted in the soil. The fees are not just paid from money contributed by wealthy young men. They are paid from money realised from the cutting of palm nuts from communal palm groves owned by old and young, rich and poor alike. The palm harvest is reaped in the schools. . .

Now, how does the scheme work in an individual town or village? I give below a description of its operation at Ohanze-Isiahia given by a prominent member of the town. . . In other villages or towns there are variations in the details of the operation of the scheme, but the essence is the same.

Says Mr. X. of Ohanze:—"There are eight villages in our town, Ohanze-Isiahia, the elders of all of which decided to support St. Chrysostom's Anglican School, Ohanze, by the wealth of our palm trees.

"At the beginning of the scheme, we gave each village one week during the palm season (March-May) to cut the palm-nuts from their grove. When the palm-produce was sold, the money from each village was put into the village box. After doing this two or three times, the elders were able to determine the relative value of the palm wealth of each village and to establish a kind of proportion on the basis of which the villages are now assessed. To-day we assess the villages twice a year at say, £25, £20, £18, etc., according to the value of their palm grove. When this is done, the villages go back and assess their young men at say, 5s. or 10s. each and give them a day or two to cut palm nuts. A strong young man may be able to cut nuts worth about £2 on those days. He pays his assessment to the village elders and pockets the balance. Because of this, every young man is anxious to go out and cut palm nuts on the days declared open for him.

On the night previous to the day when the villages are expected to pay in their assessment, we beat our big drum called *Ikoru* to warn the villages. When the day dawns, we gather in the school premises and pay in the money which is kept in the village box. We have our Treasurer, Secretary and Financial Secretary. The village box and its key are kept by village elders in rotation. If an elder from one village keeps the box, we give the key to an elder from another village. We use this money

to pay the school fees of all our children male and female, and to erect buildings. In cases of emergency, if there is no money in our box, we raise loans from eight young men from the eight villages and pay them back when we cut our palm nuts.

If a father, for no just cause, refuses to send his son to school we sue him in the Native Court for breach of contract. If he withdraws the child after fees have been paid he must pay the fees back to us. If a father wishes his daughter at school to stop in order to marry, we may give him a loan of £25 in lieu of bride-price, so that the girl may finish her course. The amount is refundable when the girl has passed Standard 6. I cannot think of any child in our town now who does not go to school."

Difficulties in Working

It should not be imagined, however, that the scheme runs smoothly in every village. There have been cases where the enthusiasm of villagers have been damped by the contractor bolting away with their money without finishing his contract. There have been cases where, owing to the weakness of elders or the intrigue of young men who have an axe to grind, a rival school has been built belonging to another organisation and its sponsors claim support from the palm harvest even though they were party to the original agreement to support one school and even though it is quite certain that the town is not large enough to maintain two or more schools. This often leads to litigation and dissipation of energy and, in my opinion, this is where a strong neutral Local Education Committee would be most useful. But these difficulties and others arising from administration, can, in my opinion, be surmounted gradually in future and are at present more than compensated by the keen interest of the villagers in education, irrespective of age or creed and the deep feeling among them that the village school is theirs, not just something put there by the Government or Church. . .

Villages are reluctant to allow their children to attend a school in another village no matter how near. The reason for this is that the parents of the children will be asked to pay fees by that other village, whereas if the children remain in their own village the fees are paid communally. It is true that there are one or two villages who are generous enough to pay for every child no matter where he comes from; but these are exceptional cases. Every village wants its school to develop into a full primary school as soon as possible. Since many of these villages are large enough to have a full primary school, the only obstacle in their way is the dearth of certificated teachers, and it is an obstacle that can only be removed as soon as training colleges turn out more and more trained teachers.'

* The sixth in a series of articles on Co-operation. Previous articles in the series were printed in May, 1951 (Tanganyika), July, 1951 (West Africa), October, 1951 (Gilbert and Ellice Islands), November, 1951 (Hong Kong), December, 1951 (Ceylon).

Guide to Books

The Mashona and the Matabele

By Charles Bullock. (Juta and Co., South Africa, 21s.)

Mr. Bullock's book is one of the most engrossing ethnographical studies this reviewer has ever read: it is a work of fine scholarship, lucid and clear and with a style that holds the reader throughout. As a study of the pattern of African tribal life in Southern Rhodesia, it is the best that has yet appeared.

The author starts off by asking who the Bantu (the word itself simply means 'people') are and where they came from. He then answers the question by an examination of the various tribes and the legends concerning them. It is interesting to note that the lowly MaKaranga are associated by the author with the ancient empire of Monomotapa.

Mr. Bullock then turns to a study of the individual within his society, from the day of his birth till the day he dies. For those reading this for the first time, and coming with preconceived notions of the 'backward savage,' there will be a new meaningfulness in this record of the African past. This study of the complex yet always reasonable social structure of the tribes is perhaps the most interesting part of the whole book. Colonialists and certain socialists may be in disagreement with certain of Mr. Bullock's conclusions and the frame of mind in which he discusses some contemporary problems—his paternalism irritates when he speaks of 'our Africans' or when he writes as though the problem is the preserve of the whites of Rhodesia and its solution is dependent on their kindness. In one place he states flatly: 'Democracy' here must not mean counting the heads of all who can read and write, if we do not wish to see bloody disasters similar to those which are happening elsewhere in the world.' What then, one is entitled to ask Mr. Bullock, must 'Democracy' mean in Southern Rhodesia? And why does he put the word between quotation marks?

Yet for all Mr. Bullock's *Herrenvolk* (he uses the word) touch when commenting on the contemporary scene—and it must be remembered that the racial scene in Southern Rhodesia to-day is very like that in the Union of South Africa—it would be wrong not to acknowledge the rare scholarship with which he has presented this study of the past of the Africans of his country.

Peter Abrahams.

Human Bondage in South-east Asia

By Bruno Lasker. (University of N. Carolina, \$6.)

ANOTHER scholarly book has been published under the auspices of the International Pacific Relations Institute, to whom people in this country who are students of Asian affairs are so indebted. Mr. Lasker has tackled the theme of personal servitude by the use of ethnological studies and historical writings as well as from the reports of the International Labour Office. As he points out, these reports are more applicable to western conditions than to Asian, both in language and concept. Even in the case of the comparatively small number of advanced wage-earners in Asia, their customs and attitudes need to be understood from a study of their background. His first chapter deals with 'Memories and Remnants of Slavery,' and here he suggests that, as far as South-

east Asia is concerned, the Mui Tsai system of selling children, chiefly Chinese, into domestic servitude and brothels, is the main form of slavery left; an impression is left with the reader that this is the only form of slavery existing but, in fact, there is slavery still in the Arabian peninsula, in Spanish Morocco and Tibet.

In an analysis of 'Serfdom and Peonage,' the author deals with the obligation of the farmer or tenant to give unpaid service not only for the conservation and irrigation of the land, but also personal service to the owner's family.

The most important section deals with the widespread debt bondage in South-east Asia, and here the indebtedness of peasants to landowners and traders, of labourers to plantation managers, of workers in cottage industries to the middleman, are studied in each country.

Labour relations in modern enterprise are considered against their pre-war background. In the case of Malaya, the resentment and humiliation of the workers in the tin mines and on the rubber plantations, before the introduction of an enlightened labour code and the building of trade unions, is considered by the author as one of the reasons for the present uprising.

There is a wealth of interesting appendices and notes as well as an excellent index.

Hilda Selwyn-Clarke.

SHORT NOTICES

Lords and Commons. (H.M.S.O. 1/6d.). A useful illustrated general account of the British Parliament, with sections on the composition of both Houses, the development and working of Parliament and its relation to the public.

White Traveller in Black Africa. By Colin Wills. (Denis Dobson, 12/6.). An unnecessarily superficial account of the author's journeys in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, written in journalese.

Peaceful Settlement in Indonesia. (United Nations Department of Information, 25 cents.). A very useful pamphlet giving a brief outline of the geography and history of Indonesia and then proceeding to trace accurately the course of the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands from September, 1945, to the end of 1949. The work of the United Nations Commission is clearly set out and is of immense interest in giving proof 'that the most inextricable disputes can be solved by conciliation with individual aims achieved and mutual benefits ensured.'

The Realm of Freedom. By Phillips Ruopp. (International Research Press Inc., Oxford. 1s. or 20c.). The challenge of the world's under-developed communities is here presented as a challenge not only to Member States of UNO and the Specialised Agencies, but also to the people of the economically advanced countries. Opportunities for voluntary service are offered by a new organisation, Community Development Projects Ltd., particulars of which are here given by the Chairman, Phillips Ruopp. Forewords by G. Leslie Cross and

CORRESPONDENCE

The Foreign Firms

Dear Sir,—We have read Mr. Henry Collins' letter, which appeared in your December issue. The basis of his argument rests on the statement that the U.A.C. 'by lowering its selling prices could eliminate its profits while leaving the total profits of Unilever unchanged.'

Perhaps Mr. Collins could explain to your readers how this would be possible when the Gold Coast cocoa crop is purchased on behalf of the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board at a price fixed by them, and the U.A.C. merely acts as one of the Board's agents. The Company is never the owner of the cocoa and has absolutely no say in its sale.

Yours faithfully,
A. R. I. Mellor,
Secretary.

The United Africa Company Limited,
Unilever House, Blackfriars, E.C.4.

Attitude to Africa

Sir,—May I add my comments to those of the three contributors who reviewed *Attitude to Africa* in your December number? I have read this book no less than four times, and it has created in me a boundless vision. We see in the four authors the ability to observe minutely and describe accurately what they see and feel when they mean to be sympathetic and sincere. W. Arthur Lewis, Michael Scott, Martin Wight and Colin Legum rank in my estimation with Mungo Park, David Livingstone and Stanley in their own attitude to Africa, in that they have scientifically re-explored the present continent of Africa in the light of the present world events, for the British people in general, just as sympathy and philanthropic ideals and true humanity impelled Park, Livingstone and Stanley to brave the dangers of the 'Dark Continent' and throw open the knowledge of what was going on in it to the world, but especially to Britain.

As the authors state, all hopes of maintaining good relationships in Africa depend entirely on the British Parliament making a definite, unequivocal and well-planned statement of policy for the settlement of the British colonial African problems. All races should as soon as convenient cease to count in the public affairs of each individual state, and in the eyes of the British Government, if a dangerous and embittered war will not eventually destroy the plural societies of East, Central

and South Africa. The fact that the Indian communities have to look beyond the seas to India and Pakistan for protection is a dangerous enough circumstance to arouse Britain to the seriousness of the situation and to compel her to cease patting South Africa on the back. Though Nigeria is a multi-tribal state our present Governor, Sir John Macpherson, is certainly showing a right approach to the problem. He never tires of reminding all the people to regard themselves first as Nigerians.

Attitude to Africa should be read by all those who have a sane and unselfish interest in Africa. Any nationalist can read it as a god mental tonic.

Yours sincerely,

T. M. Uzo.

Onitsha, Nigeria.

MARGARET WRONG PRIZE

This Prize will be offered annually by the Trustees of the Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund for original literary work by writers of African race living in a part of Africa to be decided upon each year by the Trustees.

Regulations for 1952

1. A silver medal and a money prize not exceed-£5 will be offered in 1952.
2. In 1952 manuscripts are invited from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa and Angola.
3. The length of manuscripts should be not less than 5,000 or more than 15,000 words.
4. The language may be English or Portuguese.
5. The manuscript must be of an imaginative character or descriptive of African life or thought, and suitable for general reading.
6. Each manuscript should be accompanied by a statement signed by the author declaring that it is his own unaided work and has not previously been published.
7. Manuscripts should be addressed to 'The Margaret Wrong Prize,' c/o The International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.
8. Manuscripts must reach the London office of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa before December 31, 1952.
9. In the award of the Prize the decision of the Trustees will be final.

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